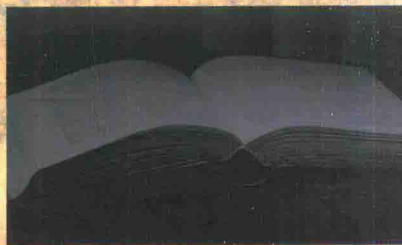


# 浪子英雄与主权： 英国王政复辟喜剧中的政治形势表征

Rake-Hero and Sovereignty:  
The Representation of the Political Conditions  
in Restoration Comedies

刘思远 著





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# 序 言

得知学生刘思远的博士学位论文《浪子英雄与主权:英国王政复辟喜剧中的政治形势表征》(*Rake-Hero and Sovereignty: The Representation of the Political Conditions in Restoration Comedies*)入选上海外语教育出版社的“博文学库”,我感到由衷的高兴,欣然作序。这篇学位论文以英国17世纪下半叶至18世纪初的喜剧作为研究对象,这一时期英国戏剧的特征与艺术价值尚未被国内学术界充分认识。应该说这项研究具有一定的学术意义。

刘思远在读博期间对英国戏剧产生了浓厚的兴趣,并广泛阅读了英国各个时期的剧作,对英国戏剧的发展有了较为全面的认识和把握。同时,她深入研究当前国际戏剧文学研究的前沿理论,从而使她不仅能发现跨学科的文学批评视角,而且形成了自己独特的理论框架。处于英国文艺复兴戏剧诗歌和18世纪浪漫主义文学之间的王政复辟时期的戏剧,虽然尚未被国内学术界充分研究,但这是英国戏剧发展的转折点。在这短短的四五十年间,有五百多个剧作在伦敦的两个小型室内剧场上演。如果文艺复兴时期大型公共剧场是伦敦主要的大众娱乐场所,那么复辟时期小型室内剧场则是伦敦的重要社交场所。同时,复辟时期女性演员的首次登台演出不仅增加了戏剧的观赏性,而且引发了复辟戏剧从文艺复兴时期浪漫的英雄主义的剧情向更为世俗的主题转变。值得一提的是,这一时期英国的出版业迅猛发展,当时在伦敦出版的报刊就多达两百多份。剧作家们开始从出版的剧作版权中获利,于是戏剧创作便

## II

首次成为可以谋生的行当。1660 年之后的五十年间,英国经历了从查理二世(Charles II)复辟到光荣革命(Glorious Revolution)和君主立宪的社会变革,戏剧舞台成为各种政治势力争夺文化主导权的重要场域。这一切渐渐改变了英国的戏剧创作,开启了现代英国戏剧的新纪元。刘思远在英国这一重要发展时期的历史语境中展开对复辟喜剧的讨论,这样的论文确是一个非常有趣又颇具新意的选题。

《浪子英雄与主权:英国王政复辟喜剧中的政治形势表征》将复辟喜剧置于历史、社会和政治语境中加以研究,细致地分析了 1660 年后五十年间九个颇具代表性的复辟喜剧,通过聚焦浪子英雄这一人物舞台形象之转变,讨论了现代主权概念在英格兰萌发、形成到协议主权概念之确立的过程,探究了英国喜剧从文艺复兴的浪漫喜剧向 18 世纪市民喜剧之转变。论文采用跨学科的研究方法,将社会学、政治学和人类表演学理论融入戏剧文学批评中;文外研究和文内研究交错有致,并有机地融为一体。论文既关注性别、时尚、年龄、话语、多重情节、经济关系等喜剧研究中的热点问题,又展现复辟喜剧如何在继承喜剧传统的基础上结合当时社会历史现状开创新的喜剧模式。这一研究在英国喜剧发展的大背景中展开,揭示了复辟喜剧独特的艺术特征和历史意义。我认为,刘思远的论文选题新颖,见解独到,对国内 17 世纪英国戏剧研究具有一定的参考价值。我希望刘思远博士再接再厉,今后在英国戏剧研究领域取得更加丰硕的成果。

李维屏

2015 年 12 月

# 前言

英国王政复辟戏剧处于文艺复兴戏剧和浪漫主义诗歌的历史夹缝中,似乎成了被评论界遗忘的角落。然而,这是英国戏剧创作最集中的时期,短短半个世纪有近五百出新剧被搬上舞台。英国戏剧在这一时期的发展——室内小型剧场的出现、女性开始登台演出、戏剧开始采用没有格律的语言、剧作家可以从出版剧作获利——这一切都为现代英国戏剧奠定了基础。喜剧作为复辟时期最重要的剧种之一,更依赖剧场演出效果,堪称当时社会风尚及政治气候的风向标。

在一边讲授“英国文学史”课程,一边构想博士学位论文期间,一个问题一直萦绕心头。我们为什么读文学作品?这个问题在各个历史时期有过不同的答案,但在20世纪90年代之后当新历史主义兴起时,读文学作品本身也是一种表达自我的文化方式。除了被经典化的作品,我们开始日益关注女性文学、少数族裔文学、非英语母语作家的作品以及一度被排除在等级化的传统文学形式之外的文学样式等。我把对复辟喜剧的研究看作这一历史潮流中的一朵小水花。这些创作于英国重要历史变革时期的喜剧,不仅是当局政治表演的场域,也发展出一种独有的喜剧形式,对后世英国喜剧产生深远的影响。

论文聚焦复辟喜剧中浪子英雄与现代主权概念间的关系,通过考察查理二世复辟之后五十年间,这一人物在喜剧舞台上形象之转变,试图论证17世纪末英格兰通过解决实际社会问题,将主权纷争从政治领域问题转变为社会领域问题,并最终解决的过程。复辟喜剧的文学价值在



于为适应当时社会风尚和政治气候,以英格兰独有的文化方式继承和发展了古典喜剧传统。浪子英雄人物形象正是这一努力的集中表现。

浪子英雄人物形象之转变为 17 世纪末 18 世纪初探讨英格兰现代国家主权的可行形式提供了丰富的舞台空间。复辟喜剧不仅被认为是复辟时代的真实写照,也是复辟君主强调其政治权威的“官方话语”。论文第一章将浪子英雄的自由/浪荡视作复辟时期的政治表演,探讨了浪子英雄如何成为复辟君主宣传其最高政治权威的重要戏剧手段,却因其所崇尚的自由/浪荡在古典哲学中的矛盾本质,反而暴露了君主主权不仅缺乏法理基础,更难以应对日益复杂的社会局面,进而令这一主权形式的合法性受到质疑。第二章探讨了浪子英雄与喜剧间的文类冲突。作为复辟喜剧的文类指标,浪子英雄非但没有增加喜剧气氛,反而时时挑战喜剧文类边界,他的放浪行径常常给原本欢快的喜剧蒙上一层阴影。浪子英雄与喜剧中的文类冲突影射了当局鼓吹的君主特权和主权法理根源间的矛盾。剧作家们采用的各种修辞手法不仅无法遮蔽这种文类冲突,反而凸显了复辟时期君主主权的专制倾向。第三章关注浪子英雄人物对乡绅价值观的态度,讨论了浪子英雄人物接受乡绅价值观的过程如何上演了协议主权逐步被英格兰社会接受的进程。当其如乡绅一般重视效率、具备新经济观、尊重他人利益时,英格兰的主权纷争已在政治妥协和平衡各方利益的基础上,从难以化解的政治矛盾转变为可以解决的社会问题。复辟喜剧中的浪子英雄通过舞台表演,形象地展示了作为现代国家最高政治权威的主权概念之演变,并探讨了主权者与社会群体间关系的各种可能形式。浪子英雄形象的转变折射出这一时期英格兰政体观念的转变:从热烈颂扬君主主权,到感受绝对主权的威胁,最后以协议主权解决了主权者与社会群体间的矛盾。

在论文构思和写作时,我的导师李维屏老师不仅在研究方法上细心指导,而且不断鼓励我去尝试这一具有挑战性的研究选题,让我有信心沿着自己的兴趣继续研究工作。在论文写作与修改期间多位专家学者在研究方法和研究思路方面给予我很多建议,其中包括上海外国语大学虞建华、乔国强、张定铨、史志康、查明建、王恩铭、汪小玲、吴其尧、徐海明、周敏、王欣、李尚宏等老师,复旦大学英语系孙建和卢丽安老师,台湾

中山大学外国语文学系王仪君老师和华东理工大学颜静兰老师。在收集资料时,爱丁堡大学历史系哈里·迪金森,上海外国语大学的王磊、李梅、傅玉等老师给予我许多帮助。我的同事王欣、程心、蔡佳颖等老师阅读了我论文的初稿,并给予我很多建设性的意见和建议。论文后期修改完成于我在纽约城市大学研究生院马丁·E·西格尔戏剧中心访学期间,该中心的戴维·萨弗兰、彼德·埃克萨尔、弗兰克·亨施克等老师让我从文化研究、社会学、人类表演学等理论层面重新认识了戏剧研究。衷心地感谢这些老师和朋友!

感谢我的家人在我学习和写作的五年中对我的照顾、宽容和支持!

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## Chapter One

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# Introduction

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During the past several decades, Restoration comedies have gained academic attention as an important phase of English comedy development. Within the fifty years after the Restoration of Charles II (1630–1685) in 1660, when theatres strove to survive, comedies with “likelihood of longer runs (and the resulting financial rewards) encouraged the best playwrights of the period to try their hands” (Corman, “Comedy”, 56). More often Restoration comedies are interpreted as both economic and cultural productions of the historical moment they were embedded in. Restoration comedies went through gradual changes to tailor for its split, as well as changing audience and their altering tastes, in a politically turbulent period. The topic of sexual relationship, however so much deplored by moralists or defended as innocent artistic presentation of human nature by dramatists, is accepted as unique feature of it. This constant focus on sexual relationship is often related to the libertine culture of Charles II’s court, the royal sovereignty has been so much debated in the late seventeenth century.

This study explores the rake-hero in Restoration comedies as a literary representation of sovereignty, a changing concept of political authority that transformed from unquestionable royal supremacy in political theology into the idea of political contractualism based on more practical concerns of administrative efficiency.

## 0.1 The Historical Context of Restoration Comedies and the Rake-Hero

The rake-hero, the center of the comic plot, is probably the most important character in Restoration comedies. Within the period from 1660, when the theatres were reopened, to 1710, when the most creative comedy playwrights of Carolean tradition stopped writing, more than two hundred comedies were written and staged. If one keeps in mind that there were only two small indoor theatres in business, compared to nine large public theatres in Shakespeare's time, not to mention that one theatre was closed after the plague because of bad business, this was a large-scale theatrical production. It was in this large theatrical production of comedies that the rake-hero repetitively lived through a variety of sexual adventures. In spite of the fact that the audience altered, the new generation of comedy playwrights replaced the old one (Hume, *Development*, 25, 28), and the political climate changed dramatically, the rake-hero remains the focus of these comedies.

As early as Restoration comedies were rediscovered by the critical world in the mid nineteenth century, critics recognized a close relation between the rake-hero and the political context of Restoration comedies. Leigh Hunt (1784–1859), an English critic, in his introduction to the first collection of Restoration comedies, *Dramatic Works of Wycherley, Congreve, Vanbrugh and Farquhar* (1849), insisted upon the necessity to judge Restoration comedies with reference to their historical context, and took them as “an honest reflexion of contemporary manners” (Palmer, 15). George Macaulay Trevelyan (1876–1962), the famous British historian of the seventeenth century, though detesting the knavery sexuality of these plays, pointed out that “the excellence of Restoration comedy is, in fact directly due to the honest fidelity with which it reflects the spirit of an intensely interesting phase of our social history” (22). He argued that Mr. Horner in William Wycherley's (1640–1716) *The Country Wife* (1675) was an “impudent London rake” and “people actually behaved like that in the time of Charles II” (22–23). Trevelyan's comment implies that the rake provides theatrical

space for the imagination of this very historical period.

The rake-hero, as the barometer of social values in the late seventeenth century, in gradual alternation implies the changing political climate of the period. William Makepeace Thackeray (1811–1863), the English novelist, pointed out that the calling of the rakes, Mirabell in William Congreve's (1670–1720) *The Way of the World* (1700) and Bellmour in his *The Old Bachelor* (1693) were “irresistible” and “to conquer everywhere” (Palmer, 26). In fact, the irresistible and triumphant qualities of the rake-hero did not remain unchanged. J. Douglas Canfield (1941– ) sees Restoration comedy as “part” of “official discourse” that “underwrites the same ideology, the same natural right of the English aristocracy — from peers to the gentry — to rule because they are superior in intelligence (wit) and natural parts” (Canfield, *Tricksters*, 1). It would be more persuasive to argue that it is the rake-hero who represents the altering imagination of political authority, a claim based on birth to that based on administrative efficiency. His wit being libertinism in early Restoration is replaced by his newly acquired capability in finance and in legal issues, an acceptance of social contract with other social parties.

The academic negligence of Restoration comedies probably results from the indecision in the theatrical and cultural values of the rake-hero, a stock character of these plays. Trevelyan in his criticism of William Hazlitt's (1778–1830) *Lectures on the English Comic Writers* (1819), a collection of Restoration comedies, said that *The Country Wife* and *The Old Bachelor* were “the morality” of “low town rakes” (Palmer, 25). He further argued that the dramatic geniuses of Restoration made “ill use of his power,” for they “constantly and systematically endeavored to make this sort of character attractive” by uniting it with the social advantages and “brilliant success in every undertaking” (25). A confusion of literary criticism with moral judgment found in similar comments probably prevents critics from taking academic interest in Restoration comedies. In addition, Trevelyan's judgment is more problematic in terms of distinguishing “literary text and history as foreground and background” than for its moral standpoint (Veaser, xii). It confines literary criticism to metaphors that “narrows its concern to the devices by means of which literature reflects or refracts its contexts” (xii),

and thus denies the active involvement of literature in formation of history. This study bases its argument on a New Historicism view that literature is taken as “the key to particular historically embedded social and psychological formations” (Gallagher, 7), while literary criticism should be “conscious of its own status as interpretation and intent upon understanding literature as a part of the system of signs that constitutes a given culture” (Greenblatt, 4). Taking theatre as “a social and aesthetic phenomenon” (Orgel, xvii), it attempts to prove that the literary values of Restoration comedies lie in how social realities, are circulated, negotiated, and exchanged through the theatrical imagination of the rake-hero (Veesser, xiv). As Norman Holland argues the purpose of literature is to pursue the pleasure of understanding “the coherence and structure of the work itself” and “the relation of the work to the reality it represents” (Holland, 3). The rake-hero proves to be a vigorous character of Restoration comedies that embodies such coherence and structure to stage the political reality of the fifty years after Restoration. Most critics working on Restoration drama see the rake-hero as a cultural discourse embedded in social context of the age, whose meaning resides in the historical complex of the period. This study endeavors to reveal how alternations of the rake-hero within this period stages the subtle but significant change in conception of sovereignty as a political authority in shaping England as a modern sovereign state.

Canonical bias of comedy may also result in artistic devaluation of the rake-hero, the remarkable comic achievement of the period. There has been a long critical preference to the social functions of comedy — to instruct, to cure, and to celebrate. It baffles artistic evaluation of the rake-hero in Restoration comedies. First, Restoration comedies featured by the libertine pursuits of the rake-hero fail to give moral instruction<sup>①</sup> or to bring mirth for

① Evanthius, a medieval grammarian, added that comedy taught “what is of use in life, on the one hand, and what must be avoided, on the other” (Evanthius, 43). Philip Sidney defined comedy in *An Apology for Poetry* as “an imitation of the common errors of our life ... in the most ridiculous and scornfull sort that may be” so as to warn people of social contortion (Sidney, 117). The rake-hero, who often defeats the citizen and laughs at him, in his sexual pursuits could hardly be taken as a character that would give moral instruction.



the health of its audience.<sup>①</sup> Even if he was attempted to celebrate the restoration of Charles II, he could have aroused more political alertness than political confidence in his reign.<sup>②</sup> Second, it places Restoration comedies in a critical dilemma. Taking these critical criteria of the genre is to admit that comedy is “largely plot driven, moving towards ritual resolution,” that comic characters are one-dimensional and simple-minded as a machine to push forward the plot (Stott, 40–41), and that Restoration comedies are no exception. To recognize that the joyful tone in Restoration comedy is fulfilled through the rake-hero’s victory over citizen fops is to condemn it with structural repetition and, therefore, lack of artistic variation. To argue that Restoration comedies fail to fulfill relevant social functions is to exclude it from the critical attention of comedy as a genre. This could lead to an assumption that Restoration comedies characterized by the rake-hero’s libertine pursuits, compared to its various predecessors in Renaissance, are repetitive in plot and boring in performance.

This assumption consists of two critical failures. First, it dismisses the repetitive plot as a meaningless theatrical feature before looking into the cultural and historical context of it. Second, it fails to see the theatrical alternations of the rake-hero in Restoration comedies. If the rake-heroes were simple repetitions, Restoration comedy would have already lost its enchantment over both its contemporary audience and readers. And if so, as poets of the period probably shared an identical social context, in which the contemporary concept of the ludicrous was to be judged and laughed at, Restoration comedies could have been incredibly boring. On the contrary, the rake-hero proves a theatrically vigorous figure of Restoration comic stage. It is the consistent alternations in this stock character that instills a theatrical

① In the Prologue to *Ralph Roister Doister*, the first English comedy, Nicolas Udall wrote:  
For Mirth prolongeth life, and causeth health,  
Mirth recreates our spirits and voideth pensiveness,  
Mirth increaseth amity, not hindering out wealth (Udall, 1)

However, one may doubt whether the rake-hero’s victories over the citizens in his sexual pursuits could really arouse mirth among a non-unanimous audience of Restoration.

② This will be discussed in Chapter Two.